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THE MEDIEVAL SOURCES OF SPENSER'S OCCASION EPISODE

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ABSTRACT

For nearly 250 years commentators have been trying to explain why the hag "Occasion" in Faerie Queene II.iv differs in appearance and function from her presumed source, the classical Occasio. The usual explanation assumes that Spenser "Combined" the features of Occasio with those of other figures such as Envy, Discord, Allecto or Poeana, and in doing so he also changed or "transmuted" the meaning of the original icon. But in fact all of the characteristic features of Spenser's hag -- not just her old age, ugliness, tattered clothing and reproachful tongue, but her staff, limp and forelock as well -- were attributes of Misfortune (Fortune in her unpleasant aspect) in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The name "Occasion" simply means that she represents those specific instances of misfortune which "occasion" (give rise to) anger or despair. The fight between Guyon and Occasion, in which he binds her to a post and later allows Pyrochloes to release her, drives from the famous battle between Fortune and Poverty in Boccaccio's De casibus. Certain modifications in the action suggest that Spenser was influenced by the simplified pictures of the story found in some manuscripts of the French translation; and in fact three of the four illuminated copies known to have been in England during the Renaissance contain such illustrations.

THE MEDIEVAL SOURCES OF SPENSER'S OCCASION EPISODE

Among the minor characters in Spenser's Faerie Queene there is one whose description has proven more than a little puzzling to his modern readers. She appears in Book II just after Sir Guyon's horse had been stolen by Braggadocchio. Bearing his misfortune with patience, Guyon was proceeding afoot when he encountered a curious spectacle: a madman dragging a helpless youth along the ground by the hair;

And him behind, a wicked Hag did stalke,
In ragged robes, and filthy disaray.
Her other leg was lame, that she no'te walke,
But on a staffe her feeble steps did stay;
Her lockes, that loathly were and hoarie gray,
Grew all afore, and loosely hong vnrold,
But all behind was bald, and worne away,
That none thereof could euer taken hold,
And eke her face ill fauourd, full of wrinckles old.

And euer as she went, her tongue did walke
In foule reproch, and termes of vile despight,
Prouoking him by her outrageous talke,
To heape more vengeance on that wretched wight;
Sometimes she raught him stones, wherwith to smite,
Sometimes her staffe, though it her one leg were,

Withouten which she could not go vpright;
 Ne any euill meanes she did forbear,
 That might him moue to wrath, and indignation reare. (II. iv. 4-5)

In 1734 Jortin identified the partial baldness of the hag as the attribute of Occasio in Phaedrus, Ausonius and the Greek Anthology; and in his edition of 1887 Kitchin adduced the famous proverb from the Disticha Catonis: "Fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva." J.G. McManaway supplemented these classical sources with some half-dozen examples of the figure in Renaissance emblem books, where the icon was often accompanied by a version of the Greek Anthology epigram. But McManaway also observed that aside from the forelock Spenser's hag was quite unlike the classical figure, which was represented as an attractive young woman with winged feet, standing on a ball or wheel and holding a razor in her hand.¹

Nevertheless, because the Palmer himself tells Sir Guyon that the hag "hight Occasion," scholars have taken her identity for granted and have sought ways to explain her divergence from the classical model. Upton compared her lameness to the description of Thersites in the Iliad;² others point to the lameness of Poena.³ Alpers compares her staff to the emblematic crutch or staff of Time,⁴ and Nohnberg likens the torch with which she inflames Furor to the firebrand of Allecto in the Aeneid.⁵ McManaway proposed that the figures of Envy and Discord in the emblem books might have suggested her ugliness and old age, and a number of later commentators second the idea.⁶ On the other hand, John Manning and Alastair Fowler object that none of the

specific features of Envy and Discord occur in Spenser's description: "the only common feature is an extremely general one, that all are hags."⁷ They suggest instead that "Occasion's ugliness, tattered clothing and old age were all iconographic attributes of Penitence," but I find it hard to distinguish their hag from the others.

Each of these proposals assumes that Spenser combined the attributes of more than one figure in order to create a new and original character. Given what we know of Spenser's habit of modifying iconographic materials, of recombining or compounding figures in an original and syncretistic way, there is nothing inherently wrong with such a theory. But the sources proposed are bewildering in their diversity, and even more so when we try to determine exactly what Thersites or Allecto or Envy or Discord have to do with "Occasion" in the Faerie Queene. And there is an even more troublesome difficulty with the one attribute which has always been taken for granted. For although no one has suggested that the forelock is not derived from Occasio, many commentators have pointed out that its function in Spenser's allegory seems to contradict its significance in the classical icon. As explained in the Thesaurus of Thomas Cooper, Occasio was depicted with

Hir head hauyng all the heare before, & cleane balde behynde.
By which imagination they signifie, that oportunitie is a
thing, that soone passeth, and is cleane lost, onlesse it
be presently apprehended.⁸

But Spenser's Occasion is just the opposite; "She comes vnsought, and

shonned followes eke" (II. iv. 44). She appears when you least want to see her, and you cannot get rid of her when you try. She is not an opportunity to be seized, but an occurrence to be endured or overcome, and her forelock eventually serves as the grip whereby this unwanted apparition is subdued.⁹

Consequently, we are led to believe that Spenser not only combined the classical image of Occasio with other figures, but in doing so he also "changed"¹⁰ or "transmuted"¹¹ the meaning of the original icon as well. Yet there is a much simpler solution to all of these problems, one which does not involve any radical change in meaning or recombination of attributes on Spenser's part. For all of the distinguishing features of Spenser's hag--and by these I mean not only the general qualities of old age, ugliness and ragged clothing, but the more specific attributes of her staff, her limp, her reproachful tongue and especially her forelock--were characteristic features of Misfortune (i.e. Fortune in her unpleasant aspect) in the Renaissance and Middle Ages. The representation of Fortune with a forelock is indeed a composite image, but one which was already well-established in the medieval period and quite familiar in Spenser's day. In fact Fortuna and Occasio were so often confused or identified in the Renaissance that for all practical purposes they may be treated as a single figure.¹² A good example of this conflation is the episode in Boiardo which many scholars regard as a primary source for Spenser's pairing of Furor with Occasion: Orlando's discovery that he cannot escape from Penitenza and her flail until he has seized the forelock of Fata Morgana.¹³ The episode is derived from the epigram

by Ausonius which describes Penitence as the companion of Occasio, but Boiardo repeatedly alludes to Morgana as Fortuna or Ventura and never as Occasione.¹⁴ In Corrozet's emblem of Occasion and Penitence, reflecting the same confusion, the figure with the forelock is called "Occasion" but holds the sail and guides the boat of Fortune.¹⁵ A later emblem by J. Boissard, which offers a striking visual analogue to the action in Spenser's poem, gives Occasio the wings of Fortune and the palm branch of Fortune, Time or Fame (Fig. 1).¹⁶

It is not at all unusual that Spenser's Occasion should combine features of the medieval Fortuna and the classical Occasio, and our reading of the episode would require nothing but a slight iconographic adjustment were it not for the fact that the difficulty displayed in previous attempts to account for the appearance of Spenser's hag has been used to further what seems to me a kind of critical misdirection on the part of some commentators. In a long and otherwise valuable discussion of the episode, Alpers contends that Spenser's audience was not meant to recognize the Hag. Proceeding from the assumption that "no figure the reader might know answers to the description of an old woman, lame in one leg and using a staff, and bald except for a forelock," Alpers concludes that "an ignorant reader will be baffled by the first description of Occasion, whereas the knowing reader's attempt to identify the figure will make him feel entertained by a puzzle." The reader may suspect that "something is up," but will not understand fully until the Palmer reveals her name. The point of Spenser's peculiar treatment of the figure, then, is that which Alpers sees elsewhere in the Faerie Queene: Spenser wants the

reader to share in the gradual education of his protagonist. "The reader's initial inability to identify Occasion means that he does not see the episode from the vantage point of the Palmer, but to some extent comes to his knowledge by participating in Guyon's experience" (pp.210-13). Even though it involves the assumption that Spenser intentionally disguised the figure of Occasion with details that are not "genuinely emblematic," with attributes that have "no conceptual equivalent,"¹⁷ this line of thought has been favored in recent criticism. Isabel MacCaffrey, for example, notes that Alper's "argues convincingly for the iconographical unorthodoxy of Spenser's Occasion, a point which, if acceptable, supports my suggestion that the poet deliberately darkens his surfaces at the outset of this and other adventures."¹⁸

But the point is not acceptable. Alper's approach was partly a reaction to the sort of commentary which he felt was "hampered by the imposition of inappropriate assumptions and expectations on the poem, and by a failure to make iconographic analysis answerable to the literary experience of reading the poem" (p. 229); but his own theory of Spenser's affective stylistics leans rather too far in the other direction, discounting the significance of Spenser's iconography and imposing a modern aesthetic which is equally foreign to the work. While Spenser does use the name "Occasion" in an unusual sense, the figure herself is not as unorthodox or original as most critics have assumed. It is only the modern attempt to reconcile the classical figure of Occasio with the appearance of Spenser's Occasion that causes difficulty. If, on the other hand, we begin with the poet's

description of a nameless hag, asking only what the conventional features in her portrait would have meant to a contemporary audience, and then seek to accommodate the Palmer's name for her, we will find that Spenser's peculiar use of the word "Occasion" simply refines our understanding of an already recognizable figure. The name helps, but it is the initial appearance of the hag which is most important. Indeed, as Rosemond Tuve has taught us, Spenser depends upon the history of his images and the associations which they bring from their appearance in earlier literature to establish and enrich the meaning of his allegory.¹⁹

Starting, then, at the beginning of the episode, we are confronted with an anonymous old hag, dressed in rags and leaning upon a staff because she is lame in one leg; her hair hangs over her face, but the back of her head is bald. It is quite true that at this point Sir Guyon recognizes neither her nor her companion, but the sixteenth-century reader would identify the hag as Fortune--or more specifically as bad Fortune, "*haec aspera, haec horribilis Fortuna*" who appears when the changeable goddess reveals her unpleasant side.²⁰ It is this recognition that allows the reader to appreciate Guyon's initial error and to judge the rashness of his physical attack upon Furor. We do witness Guyon's education, but we understand it only because we saw his mistake from the beginning.

The means of the reader's identification of the hag are several. Her partial baldness is an attribute that Fortune had borrowed from Occasio as early as the twelfth century and kept ever

since.²¹ Beginning with the substitution of Fortune or Aventure for Occasio in the Old French translations of Cato's Distichs, the attribute became a principle identifying feature of the goddess in works of the Boethian tradition such as Simund de Freine's Roman de Philosophie (c. 1180)²² and Henricus Septimellensis' De diversitate Fortunae et Philosophiae Consolationis (c. 1194).²³ It was popularized in the lyrics of the Carmina Burana,²⁴ and alluded to in romances such as the Fergus of Guillaume le Clerc (c.1225).²⁵ In Chrétien's Conte del Graal a hideous damsel with two black braids, an ugly face and twisted legs appears at Arthur's court shortly after Perceval's failure to ask the meaning of the Grail. Holding a scourge in her left hand, she rebukes the hero for losing his opportunity to heal the realm: "Ha! Perceval, Fortune is bald behind with hair in front, and a curse on him who greets you and does not wish you ill, for you did not seize Fortune when you met her."²⁶ The loathly messenger herself is probably to be understood as a personification of the misfortune which results from Perceval's silence, as indeed she is in the more explicit allegory of the thirteenth-century Perlesvaus.²⁷

Chiefly through the influence of Alain de Lille's description of Fortune in the Anticlaudianus (VIII. 13-47) her partial baldness became one of the attributes of Fortuna bifrons, that peculiar icon which embodied both aspects of the goddess in the figure of a woman with two faces--"ful fayre before, but to to foule behind."²⁸ In this context her bald occiput no longer meant that she must be seized before she passed you by, but emphasized that she concealed behind her a grotesque and frightening countenance. The image of Fortuna bifrons

was also one of the principle vehicles whereby the ugliness of her unpleasant side became increasingly exaggerated throughout the later Middle Ages. Such features as her old age, loathly face and tattered clothing were described in great detail by Watrquet de Couvin, Gervais de Bus, Deguileville, Machaut and Christine de Pisan in France, and by Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate in England. A fine illustration of the figure in the Renaissance is the woodcut done by Hans Burgkmair for the 1532 German translation of Petrarch's De remediis utriusque fortunae, in which the goddess has two faces: one young and lovely, covered with a full head of hair; the other old, ugly and bald.²⁹ Spenser shows his familiarity with both sides of the goddess in the September eclogue of The Shepheardes Calender, where Hobbinoll laments the "haplesse mischief" caused by "froward fortune" and counsels patience "till fayrer Fortune shewe forth her head" (248-57).

For reasons which will become clear in the second part of this essay, the description of Fortune most important for our purposes is that in Boccaccio's De casibus virorum illustrium. Although she had earlier displayed a more pleasant demeanor, Fortune appears before Boccaccio at the beginning of Book VI as a horrible monster with burning eyes, a savage countenance, and hair hanging over her face.³⁰ The French translation by Laurent de Premierfait elaborates: "Fortune avoit la face cruelle et horrible et avoit ses cheveulx espars longs et pendans sur sa bouce."³¹ Spenser would probably have been familiar with Lydgate's somewhat padded translation in The Fall of Princes, which describes Fortune as "a monstre transffoormyd ageyns nature:"

Hir face seemyng cruel & terrible,
 And bi disdeyne manacyng of look
 Hir her vntressid, hard, sharp & horrible
 Froward of shappe, lothsum & odible.³²

Lydgate also tells us that Fortune "can be despitous . . . hastili vengable . . . wood & furious" (VI. 142-4), and that she has a "sclandrous & vengable" tongue which issues "straunge rebukis ful contrarious / And repreuys many thousand paire" (III. 605-8).

Lydgate adds another detail to her portrait which is found in neither Boccaccio nor Laurent: namely, that Fortune is lame,

Dulle as an asse whan men hadde haste to gon,
 And as swalwe gerissh of hir fliht,
 Tween slouh and swifft; now crokid & now vpriht
 Now as a crepil lowe coorbid down,
 Now a duery and now a champioun. (VI. 54-6)

Though not in Lydgate's immediate source, the erratic gait of Fortune was entirely traditional. According to Ovid the changeable goddess "wanders about with uncertain steps"³³ and in the Anticlaudianus she has "unequal steps, retrograde, reeling, wandering; advancing she falls back, proceeding she retreats; she is equally fast and slow in her going."³⁴ Alain points out that just when she seems ready to stand still, she falls down; a habit which is also mentioned by Jean de Meun in the Roman de la Rose (6149). Remarkably close to Spenser's Occasion, whose "other leg was lame, that she no'te walke," is the

goddess in Machaut's Remede de Fortune: "Un piet a droit, l'autre clopie, / La droite torte" (she has one good foot, the other lame; the right one is twisted).³⁵ Machaut's poem was one of the principle sources for Chaucer's famous tirade against Fortune in The Book of the Duchess (which in turn provided inspiration for Lydgate):

She goth upright and yet she halt
That baggeth foule and loketh faire
The dispitouse debonaire,
That skorneth many a creature!³⁶

We may note, finally, that Fortune was still unsteady in the sixteenth century. In The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy, Michael Drayton remarks that "her riggish feet fantastickly would tread;"³⁷ and in "Ane Invectione against Fortune" the Scottish laureate Alexander Montgomerie says that "Sho stottis at strais, syn stumbillis not at stanis."³⁸

The lameness of Spenser's Occasion thus has ample precedent in the iconographic tradition of Fortune; but the significance which it bears in Spenser's allegory seems to be a genuinely original development. The uncertain walk of Fortune was a sign of instability, an inherent part of her generally unreliable character, while the "feeble steps" of Occasion seem rather to indicate an abiding weakness or disability. Alpers contends that in fact "the lameness of Spenser's hag (which is not mentioned after the opening stanzas) has no conceptual equivalent" (p. 214), but other scholars have been less skeptical. Kellogg and Steele suggest that "perhaps her lameness

represents the impotence of wrath" (p. 62), while Manning and Fowler propose that "Occasion's unbalanced form, combining one good leg and one lame leg, may perhaps be said to embody the strong and weak passions of rashness and remorse. She brings together in her person, as it were, the extremes of grief and wrath which tempt Guyon throughout the first half of Book II.³⁹ Along with Nohrnberg and Brooks-Davies, they point out that her various features reappear in the two hags who assist Maleger in his fight with Arthur.

There follow'd fast at hand two wicked Hags,
 With hoarie lockes all loose, and visage grim;
 Their feet vnshod, their bodies wrapt in rags,
 And both as swift on foot, as chased Stags;
 And yet the one her other legge had lame,
 Which with a staffe, all full of litle snags
 She did support, and Impotence her name:

But th'other was Impatience, arm'd with raging flame. (II. xi. 23)

Clearly these two hags are intended to "unfold" the disparate qualities which are combined in the figure Occasion. Impotence has her staff and limp, while Impatience carries the torch which she used to inflame Furor in his fight with Pyrochles.

In a valuable discussion of the "latent continuity" of Spenser's Occasion and Maleger episodes, Nohrnberg argues convincingly that "the resemblance of Impatience and Impotence to the harridan Occasio is essential to Spenser's theme" (p. 314). In describing the two abstractions as "dispositions in relation to action," however, he

follows the usual assumption that Occasion presents a chance to act, like the classical Occasio.⁴⁰ The specific meanings which he assigns to Impotence and Impatience---"the inability to wait, and the fear of failure in the face of new opportunity"--- are difficult to see in the story of Phedon, where Occasion appears to torment her victim after he has already acted. The "griefe and furie" which torture Phedon are better explained as reactions to misfortune than as approaches to opportunity; and the reason for presenting these two emotions in combination becomes clearer once we have identified Spenser's hag with Fortune, whose "great despiht" was the cause of Phedon's predicament. For Impotence and Impatience, grief and wrath, are the traditional results of adversity: they represent our inability to cope with bad luck and the fury which our helplessness inspires. As Lady Philosophy explained to Boethius, "your sorrow raged against adverse fortune . . . a tumult of affections oppressed you and now sorrow, anger, grief tear you asunder."⁴¹ Hence the commentary to Cousin's emblem "Fortunae adversae comites" specifies that "les compaignes de Fortune adverse sont: douleur, crainte, ire et rapine."

Spenser was fully aware of this truth. When Amavia dies in his arms Sir Guyon, "accusing fortune," comments on the effects of the "raging passion" it inspires:

The strong it weakens with infirmitie,

And with bold furie armes the weakest hart. (II. i. 57)

Only the wise and temperate will not be overcome by these emotions. When Guyon's horse is stolen by Braggadocchio (the event which

precedes his encounter with Occasion) he endures the misfortune with self restraint:

Patience perforce; helplesse what may it boot
 To fret for anger, or for grieve to mone?
 His Palmer now shall foot no more alone:
 So fortune wrought . . . (II. iii. 3)

Such equanimity, however, may temporarily elude even the most steadfast hero. Sir Guyon fights a losing battle with Furor until he is corrected by the Palmer's sage advice; and later Prince Arthur is overthrown by Impatience even as he bends to tie the hands of Impotence. As the poet observes, "fierce Fortune did so nearly drive" the prince that he would have been defeated if his squire had not come to his aid (II. xi. 30).

Since Occasion is lame, it is only natural that she should carry a staff, "withouten which she could not go vpright." It is also a recognizable attribute of Fortune, who leans upon a staff in a number of Renaissance emblems.⁴² When Occasion lends it to Furor in stanza v, however, we run into another of Alper's reservations about the significance of Spenser's iconography: "It disappoints our expectation that the descriptive details in the preceding stanza are genuinely emblematic. The staff which seemed to be a symbol of feebleness, is now simply a weapon" (pp. 211-12). But in origin this was precisely what Fortune's staff was meant to be. When the pilgrim first encountered Fortune in Lydgate's translation of Deguileville's Pelerinage he noticed that "a crokyd staffe in sothe sche bare."⁴³

She had also a "dyuerse and dowble" countenance: her fair and "amyable" side seemed pleasant, but when she revealed "the tother syde, hydous and old, / Whiche was ryuelyd many ffold" she was cruel, and men called her "Infortune" (19470-88). On this side, too, her clothes were "rente" and "ffoule and owgely on to se." Thus she is portrayed in one fifteenth-century manuscript with light and dark halves, and her crooked staff rests upon the shoulder of her dark side.⁴⁴ When the Pilgrim inquires "what maner tookne yt may be" that her staff is crooked, Fortune explains that "with thys Crook, by gret vengauce" she rends down folk whom she had previously advanced to high position (19605-14).

The ultimate source of this attribute was Boethius' observation that "happy fortune draws men away from the true good with her devious attractions, while adverse fortune often drags them back to the true good with a hook."⁴⁵ Fortune's staff in Lydgate is thus an instrument of correction and punishment, like the rod which she was given by Martianus Capella. According to the De nuptiis Fortune went about "girlishly pulling the hair of some, beating others on the head with a stick, while those whom she had previously flattered she wounded with thick and frequent blows of her knuckles upon their pate."⁴⁶ Martianus was paraphrased by Cartari, and considerably embellished by Richard Lynche: "to some others againe she would seeme maruellous angry and displeased, striking them ouer the faces and heads with a white wand, which she held in her hand, and with such signe and token of revenge, as if she had ben highly prouoked and incensed."⁴⁷ In light of this tradition it seems entirely appropriate

that Occasion should lend her staff to Furor and provoke him "to heape more vengeance" on their wretched victim.

All of the characteristic features of Spenser's hag--the forelock, the spiteful tongue, the limp and even the use to which she puts her staff--identify her as Misfortune, and based upon her initial description Spenser's contemporary audience would have recognized her as such. Why then does the Palmer call her "Occasion"? The answer to this lies in the peculiar sense in which Spenser is using the word. It has often been pointed out that he does not mean occasion in the sense of "opportunity" (the meaning of the Latin occasio), but rather occasion in the sense of "cause": as Spenser puts it, "Occasion to wrath, and cause of strife" (II. iv. 44). If he had simply called her "Fortune" he would have given too much prominence to what is, after all, a minor figure in his narrative. Neither is she the only figure related to Fortune in the poem, nor is she intended to represent all the workings of the goddess. Spenser's Occasion is one aspect of Fortune, just as Impotence and Impatience are aspects of Occasion: she represents those specific instances of misfortune which give rise to wrath and despair. Phedon gives a fairly clear indication of her role when Guyon asks "what hard mishap him brought to such distress:"

Misfortune waites aduantage to entrap
 The man most warie in her whelming lap.
 So me weake wretch, of many weakest one,
 Vnweeting, and vnware of such mishap,
 She brought to mischief through occasion,
 Where this same wicked villein did me light vpon. (II. iv. 17)

"Misfortune" or "mishap" or "mischance" occasion difficulty throughout the book, and the problem of dealing with such adversity is central to Spenser's allegory of Temperance. As Guyon explains, when Arthur laments that "fortune fauorlesse" prevents him from serving the Faerie Queene,

Fortune, the foe of famous cheuisaunce
 Seldome (said Guyon) yields to vertue aide,
 But in her way throwes mischief and mischaunce,
 Wherby her course is stopt, and passage staid. (II. ix. 8)

The description of Occasion at the beginning of canto iv clearly identifies her as the personification of this kind of adverse fortune, and her name affirms that she is the source or cause of the psychological affliction represented by her furious companion. Her appearance is not designed to be misleading, but informative, and the difficulty which scholars have felt in trying to explain her character arises from a simple neglect of the medieval sources of Spenser's iconography. As Rosemond Tuve points out, Spenser was "so much influenced by medieval ideals and materials" that a familiarity with their handling of certain common figures is essential to our understanding of Spenser's poem and to a proper reading of his allegory.

II

Our recognition of the iconographic background of Spenser's Occasion allows us to place the action of the episode in its proper context, namely the ancient topos of the battle between Man and Fortune.⁴⁸ The fundamental text describing this conflict is the advice Lady Philosophy offers to Boethius in Book IV of the Consolatio, where she instructs him to carry on a bitter fight in his soul against every kind of fortune, lest the bitter oppress him or the pleasant corrupt: "Proelium cum omni fortuna animis acre conseritis, ne vos aut tristis opprimat aut iucunda corrumpat" (pr. 7). In Renaissance art the battle between Fortune and Virtue was a favorite subject.⁴⁹ Rudolf Wittkower discusses an early sixteenth century engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi (Fig. 2) which portrays a naked man holding Fortune by the forelock (she is identified by the rudder in her hand) and beating her with a flail.⁵⁰ Wittkower describes the picture as "Herculean Virtue chastizing vicious Fortune," and compares it to Machiavelli's advice in the Principe: "I judge that it is better to be impetuous than restrained, because Fortune is a woman, and it is necessary to batter and beat her if you wish to keep her down."

A more unusual picture, representing a struggle between Fortuna, Invidia and Virtù, was painted by Vasari on the ceiling of his own house in Arezzo (Fig. 3). Vasari described the picture in detail and with obvious pride in the autobiography he appended to the Vite de' più eccellenti pittori in 1568. In the middle of the ceiling, in figures "big as life," appears Virtù, who has Invidia under foot

and Fortuna by the forelock, cudgeling them both. What is even more pleasing is that, since Fortuna is in the middle, as one walks about the room Invidia sometimes appears to be on top of Fortuna and Virtù, and from another perspective Virtù on top of Invidia and Fortuna, just as in truth it often seems to happen.⁵¹ This picture not only provides a remarkable parallel with the ups and downs of Guyon's battle with Furor and Occasion, but along with the engraving by Raimondi it helps to explain what might have seemed an unconventional use of Occasion's forelock when Guyon "fast her hent/By the hoare lockes, that hong before her eyes,/And to the ground her threw" (II.iv.12).

Sir Guyon's treatment of Occasion undoubtedly owes something to such popular representations of the conflict between Fortune and Virtue in the Renaissance. But for the subsequent details in Guyon's management of Occasion -- tying her hands to a stake and then allowing Pyrochles to unbind her -- we must turn again to a medieval source, the famous battle between Fortune and Poverty in Boccaccio's De casibus. The De casibus was one of those books which helped to transmit medieval ideas and values to the Renaissance, and it had a tremendous influence in the sixteenth century.⁵² It would have been available to Spenser in numerous manuscripts and printed editions of the original Latin, the French translation by Laurent de Premierfait, and Lydgate's English version, The Fall of Princes. The importance of this diversity will become clear when we go to consider in exactly what form the image of the battle would have been known to Spenser.

At the opening of Book III Boccaccio sits back to reflect upon the men whose lives he has been discussing, and it occurs to him that "for the most part they called their adverse fortune down upon themselves." He recalls a tale which his teacher, the famous astrologer Andalo di Negro of Genoa, had once told to prove the maxim that "The stars should not be blamed by those who seek their own misfortune." One day Poverty was seated at a crossroad when by chance Fortune passed that way and began to laugh and heap scorn upon her. When Poverty remained unperturbed Fortune lost her temper and vowed to beat her into submission. Sarcastically addressing the frail and wan Poverty as the "great offspring of Hercules," Fortune asked in what sort of contest she wished to demonstrate her strength. Poverty replied that since she had no horse or weapons they must fight on foot, and Fortune confidently rushed upon her. But Poverty was ready, and after spinning her in the air she threw Fortune to the ground and stepped on her neck so that she could hardly breathe. Poverty then imposed the conditions of her victory: Fortune was publicly to bind Misfortune to a stake, and make it fast with chains, so that it could not escape except in the company of one who untied it (*nisi cum eo qui nexum solverit*). She was allowed to send Good Fortune wherever she pleased.

Surprisingly, Fortune agreed, and left Misfortune tied to a post for those who would release it (*infortunium palo adligatum solis solventibus dereliquit*). So the story ended, and it had been received with approbation by Andalo's students. But even as Boccaccio reflects upon the truth of this exemplum, he hears the voices of those who had

released Misfortune from the stake calling to him in their torment, and he returns to the task of recounting their histories (set ecce qui solverunt a palo infortunium suis me revocant clamoribus in laborem).

There is no doubt that this account is the ultimate source for Guyon's treatment of Occasion. Following Boccaccio's prescription for dealing with Misfortune, Guyon threw her to the ground, "And both her hands fast bound unto a stake,/That she note stirre" (II.iv.13); and when Pyrochles objects to the way that Guyon had "thralled her in chaines" and unties her he is soon "compeld to cry" for help. Yet something has happened to simplify the action in Spenser's account, as well as to change the nature of the participants. In Boccaccio the hero is Poverty, an old and feeble woman, and it is not Fortune but her offspring Misfortune who is bound to the stake. We need not assume that Spenser made all the changes in the story himself, however, for it had already undergone a number of strange alterations in the translations and illustrations of Boccaccio's work made throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For example, Misfortune, which was neuter in Boccaccio's Latin, became masculine in Laurent de Premierfait's French translation of the name as Malheur. It Lydgate, on the other hand, it is feminine: Glad Poverte dictates that Fortune shall "Euel Aventure bynden to a stake/Or to sum peler wher she mai be seyn, . . . That no man shal loosne hire nor discharge,/But such as list with hire to gon at large" (III.633-7). Fortune's address to Poverty as "genere Alcides inclyte" is changed by Laurent to "O noble Hercules!" and by Lydgate to "O myhti Pouert! O stronge Hercules!" (III, 405). What had been only a sarcastic aside

becomes a suggestive identification of Poverty with Hercules himself,⁵³ and thus in a Renaissance emblem derived from Boccaccio's story (Fig. 4) a strong, bearded male Poverty binds Fortune with a "herculean rope."⁵⁴

And this was not just the quirk of a Renaissance printer; such freedom was taken in illustrating Boccaccio's story from the beginning. In a miniature by the Luçon Master, whom Meiss calls "the first illustrator of this contest,"⁵⁵ Fortune engages in a wrestling match with a remarkably virile Poverty (Fig. 5). Meiss asserts that in portraying Poverty as a man the artist "has committed an error that is corrected in all subsequent illustrations;" but in fact such departures from the text are rather common in the many illuminated copies of Laurent's translation.⁵⁶ We may compare a mid-fifteenth century Flemish manuscript prepared for Edward IV, which shows a struggle between Fortune and a raggedly attired male Poverty (Fig. 6);⁵⁷ or the early fifteenth-century manuscript from the workshop of the Rohan Master in which Poverty is shown as an old man on crutches talking to a young and attractive Fortune who stands behind her wheel (Fig. 7).⁵⁸ In some printed editions of the work Poverty is masculine as well. In Jean du Pre's 1483 edition of Laurent's translation (the first illustrated book published in Paris) Poverty is portrayed as a wiry and vigorous man who pins Fortune to the ground by her throat and beats her with his staff (Fig. 8).⁵⁹ The cuts from this edition were imported to England by Richard Pynson and re-used in his own printing of Lydgate's Fall of Princes in 1494 (sig. i 7 b). Poverty is also masculine in a cut used in the later editions by

Pynson, 1527 (fol. lxx) and Tottel, 1554.

This is not to say that illustrations of the work never represent the story accurately; for the most part they do. In its simplest form we find Poverty as an old woman sitting on top of a prostrate Fortune (Fig. 9),⁶⁰ whom she is often pummeling with her fists (Fig. 10).⁶¹ In common design a ragged female Poverty wrestles with Fortune while a bearded, male Misfortune is shown tied to a stake in the background or off to one side.⁶² A typical example is found in the copy of Laurent's translation which belonged to either Henry VII or VIII,⁶³ B. L. MS Royal 20. C. IV, fol. 77v (Fig. 11). This miniature is similar to the picture in the only manuscript of Lydgate's Fall of Princes which illustrates the scene, Huntington Library MS HM 268, fol. 43r. Other manuscripts show a tendency to multiply the number of scenes contained in their pictures of the contest. Often there are three stages, representing the meeting at the crossroads, the fight, and the binding of Misfortune (Fig. 12);⁶⁴ and at least one illumination has no less than five separate episodes within a single frame (Fig. 13).⁶⁵

Some artists, however, preferred to simplify the action, to the extent that Misfortune is left out of the scene and Poverty is shown tying Fortune herself to the stake. This is not merely a careless or lazy handling of the story, for it appears in some of the most elaborate and costly manuscripts of the French version, including the famous "Munich Boccaccio" (Fig. 14) attributed to Jean Fouquet (Bayrische Staatsbibliothek MS Gall. 369, fol 81v).⁶⁶ On the right

hand side of this beautiful miniature Poverty grapples with Fortune and tears the crown from her head, while in the background she binds Fortune to a stake. This tableau represents a significant departure from the text, in which Fortune binds Malheur to the post at the request of Povrete. In spite of the astonishment expressed by art historians⁶⁷ over Fouquet's treatment of the episode, however, we find other artists handling the story in a similar way. The illumination in B. L. MS Add. 11696, fol. 71r, is another elaborate production which shows Andalo and his students watching from a building on the left while Poverty kneels over a prostrate Fortune beside a stream on the right and then ties her to a post in the background (Fig. 15).⁶⁸

The motivation behind this kind of alteration to the story is less a desire to simplify the action than a wish to comment upon it. These artists knew that Fortune, Malheur and Bonheur were all parts of a single concept; they realized that when Misfortune is bound it simply means that the unpleasant aspect of Fortune has been overcome. In representing the goddess herself tied to the stake they demonstrate a perfect awareness of the essential meaning of Boccaccio's tale. But what is more important for our purposes is the fact that such images of Poverty binding Fortune herself (or, in Lydgate's text, a female Misfortune) to the post, along with those depictions of Poverty as a heroic man discussed above, bring us closer to Spenser's own allegory of Occasion fettered by Sir Guyon. It is thus most significant that in at least three manuscripts these two changes are combined to form a version of the story much closer to Spenser's than the text of Boccaccio we considered above; and it is even more interesting to know

that two of these copies were in England during the Renaissance. For example in a manuscript acquired by the Bodleian Library before 1602, MS Bodley 265, fol. 73v, Poverty is shown in the left foreground as a man in tattered clothing, bending over a nobly attired but conquered Fortune whose both hands he has seized, while on the right he ties Fortune by her fettered hands to a post (Fig. 16).⁶⁹ Similar illustrations appear in B.L. MS Royal 18.D.VII, fol. 52r (Fig. 17), which was in the collection at Richmond Palace in 1535;⁷⁰ and in Arsenal MS 5171, fol. 53v.⁷¹

In such painted representations of the conflict we may see the source of Spenser's own episode. For it is not unlikely that Spenser, a poet well known for his strongly visual imagination, would have found the painted image more memorable than the written account; and we should not be surprised if the illustrations of Boccaccio's famous book made a more lasting impression, and had a more important role in transmitting the concept of the battle, than the text itself. The original Latin text had a very limited circulation in England,⁷² and of the five manuscripts of Laurent's translation known to have been in England during the Renaissance, only one includes an accurate picture of the story (Royal 20.C.IV). One is unillustrated,⁷³ but the other three, like the printed editions of both the French and English versions, offer the sort of pictures which might have lent inspiration to the poet of The Faerie Queene.

Whatever the number of participants, and whatever their age or sex might be, the essential meaning of the story remains the same. An

emblem in Corrozet's Hecatographie which faithfully reproduces the episode from Boccaccio provides an appropriate moral for Spenser as well:

Ne donnes blasme qu'a toymesmes
 Si aulcun malheur te surprend,
 Car contre toy riens n'entreprend
 Sinon par tes faultes extremes.⁷⁴

The title of the emblem, "Estre cause de son mal," is echoed in the proem to Pyrochles' misfortunes in canto v: "His owne woes author, who so bounde it findes,/As did Pyrochles, and it willfully vnbindes." More striking still is Lydgate's paraphrase of Boccaccio's own conclusion that the fall of princes "Cam off themsilff & off Fortune nouht . . . Ther owne desert is cheeff occasioun/Off the onhap, who-so taketh heede" (III.175-84). As Spenser knew, only the man who "euer doth to temperaunce apply/His stedfast life, and all his actions frame" will be able to overcome the temptations of "rash Occasion" without sinking into despair or giving way to furor.

What we have learned about Spenser's Occasion episode will help us, finally, to understand its placement within the Legend of Temperance. Having learned to overcome the kind of misfortune experienced in the loss of his horse and personified by the character of Occassion, Guyon next encounters Phaedria at the shore of the Idle Lake. Phaedria is yet another kind of "Fortuna figure",⁷⁵ whose floating island and "wandring ship" are familiar attributes; and the temptation which she offers to Guyon represents those seductive

blandishments of pleasant fortune which, according to Boethius, must be resisted by the virtuous man as firmly as the trials of adversity. Spenser's juxtaposition of the Occasion and Phaedria episodes is thus significant: the temperate man must remain steadfast whether "strong passion, or weake fleshlinesse/Would from the right way seeke to draw him wide" (II.iv.2). The allurements of Phaedria are all the more dangerous because they are sweet, and her pleasant aspect is even more perilous than the wrath of Occasion. Spenser makes the transition clear:

A Harder lesson, to learne Continence
 In ioyous pleasure, then in grieuous paine:
 For sweetnesse doth allure the weaker sence
 So strongly, that vneathes it can refraine
 From that, which feeble nature couets faine;
 But griefe and wrath, that be her enemies,
 And foes of life, she better can restraine;
 Yet vertue vauntes in both their victories,
 And Guyon in them all shewes goodly maisteries. (II.vi.1)

The relationship of the two episodes is clear, but only once we have recognized the proper iconographic context of Occasion. Our recognition depends upon the many significant and traditional features in her description, and the familiar tactics used to overcome her. The nature of Spenser's Occasion is based upon a timeless psychological truth, but the full meaning of the episode, and its importance in Spenser's allegory of Temperance, is deepened for the

knowing reader by the rich associations the figure had acquired in the medieval sources which provided Spenser with the material for his poem.

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1. The commentaries are summarized in The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, vol. II, ed. E. Greenlaw, C. G. Osgood and F. M. Padelford (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 225-7. The full background for Occasio is supplied by J. E. Matzke, "On the Source of the Italian and English Idioms Meaning 'To Take Time by the Forelock'," PMLA, 8 (1893), 303-34; G. L. Kittredge, "To Take Time by the Forelock," MLN, 8 (1893), 230-35; and Karl Pietsch, "On the Source of 'To Take Time by the Forelock'," MLN, 8 (1893), 235-38. In a subsequent letter Kittredge related all this material to Spenser's Occasion: MLN, 9 (1894), p. 95. Several emblems of Occasio are reproduced in Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, eds., Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1976), cols. 1809-11.
2. In his edition of 1758. He is followed by Kitchin and McManaway; see the Variorum, II, 226-7.
3. First suggested by McManaway (Variorum, II. 227). For further discussion see Paul Alpers, The Poetry of the Faerie Queene (Princeton, 1967), pp. 213-14; John Manning and Alastair Fowler, "The Iconography of Spenser's Occasion," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 37 (1976), 263-6; and Alastair Fowler, Edmund Spenser (London, 1977), p. 38: "Literature dominated

iconography, rather than the reverse: Spenser was forming images not yet in any handbook. His figure was not Occasion in general (who would have been a young girl) but a very specific Occasion, incorporating such additional features as the lameness of Poena (slow retribution)."

4. Alpers, p. 211; he also points out that Kairos or Occasio is sometimes called Tempus.
5. James Nohrnberg, The Analogy of the Faerie Queene (Princeton, 1976), pp. 302-3.
6. For example by Robert Kellogg and Oliver Steele, eds., Books I and II of The Faerie Queene (New York, 1965), pp. 61-62; and Douglas Brooks-Davies, Spenser's Faerie Queene: A critical commentary on Books I and II (Manchester, 1977), p. 134. Alpers, p. 210, affirms that Spenser transforms "Occasion from an attractive -- often a deceptively attractive -- woman to a hag who resembles a Fury or a figure like the Envy of the emblem books."
7. "Iconography of Occasion," p. 264, n.9.
8. (London, 1565), s.v. Occasio.
9. Maurice Evans, in Spenser's Anatomy of Heroism (Cambridge, 1970), says that "the episode of Occasion, therefore, contradicts the usual assumptions about the need to take her by the forelock and suggests that, whenever possible, she is better left alone" (p.126).

10. Alpers, p. 210.
11. Manning and Fowler, p. 263; and Alpers, p. 232.
12. See H. R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature (Harvard, 1927), pp. 116-17; Guy de Tervarent, Attributes et symboles dans l'art profane: 1450-1600 (Geneva, 1958), cols. 165-8; S. C. Chew, The Pilgrimage of Life (Yale, 1962), pp. 26-30, 59-60 and 51 n. 27; F. P. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (London, 1970), pp. 120 and 219; and most recently the study by Frederick Kiefer, "The Conflation of Fortuna and Occasio in Renaissance Thought and Iconography," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 9 (1979), 1-27.
13. The relevance of this episode is extensively discussed by H. H. Blanchard, "Spenser and Boiardo," PMLA, 40 (1923), pp. 834-5; Nohrnberg, 312-14; and Manning and Fowler, 265.
14. Orlando Innamorato II. viii. 62; II. ix. 1, 2, 6, 19 and 25. The moral provided for the episode by Berni in his Rifacimento (1541) is more comprehensive: "Fato, Fortuna, Predestinazione,/Sorte, Caso, Ventura, son di quelle/Cose, che dan gran noja alle persone . . ." (II. ix. 2). Ed. S. Ferrari and G. Nencioni (Florence, 1971).
15. Hecatographie (Paris, 1540) sig. M ii b; it is discussed by Manning and Fowler p. 265 and reproduced in Pl. 27d.

16. I. I. Boissardi Vesuntini Emblemata . . . (Metz, 1584), p. 54.
For the wings and palm branch, see the engraving FORTVNA by Hans Sebald Beham (dated 1541), reproduced by Pickering, Fig 7b.

17. A similar view is expressed by P. C. Bayley in his edition of The Faerie Queene, Book II (Oxford, 1965), p. 289, n.4: "Spenser ignores the razor, wheel, winged heels and other significant accoutrements of the emblematisers, concentrating on the hair; he contrives at the same time to make her into an evil and grotesque old hag and so an acceptable and arresting figure in his narrative."

18. Spenser's Allegory: The Anatomy of Imagination (Princeton, 1976), p. 44, n.17.

19. Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and their Posterity (Princeton, 1966), p. 31.

20. Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy, II pr.8, ed. and trans. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand, Loeb Classical Library (Harvard, 1918).

21. During the Renaissance Fortune appears with a forelock "in countless pictures" (Chew, p. 60). Kiefer provides some eighteen examples from Renaissance emblems, engravings and medals, concluding that "the distinction between Fortune and Occasion was blurred if not obliterated altogether by the middle of the sixteenth century" (p. 19). In addition see the emblems from Costalius' Pegma (Lyons 1555) p. 171, and Sambucus' Emblemata

- (Antwerp 1566) p. 200, reproduced in Henkel and Schöne, cols. 1803-5. Several of the pictures in Cousin's 1568 Livre de Fortune (ed. Lalanne, Paris and London, 1883) give Fortune a forelock; and a half-dozen further examples will be found in the microform edition of the Duke University Index Iconologus (Sanford, N.C., 1980) under the keyword "Fortuna-Occasio."
22. Oeuvres, ed. J. E. Matzke (Paris 1909), 11-12: Fortune "Peint est devant chevelue,/E deriere tute nue./Ceo demonstre e signifie/Ke sun dun ne dure mie" (11.293-6).
 23. P.L. 204.855: "monstrum!/Fronte capillata, sed retro rasa caput!" (II.201-2). See also the Quadriregio of Frederigo Frezzi (d. 1416), ed. E. Filippini (Bari, 1914), p. 158, where Fortune is "dietro calva, e dietro avea la vesta tutta stracciata" (XIII. 22-3).
 24. Ed. Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann (Heidelberg, 1930-), nos. 16 and 195 (Schmeller LXXVII and 174).
 25. Ed. Ernst Martin (Halle, 1872), p. 83: "Fortune/Qui ens el front est chavelue/El haterel deriere nue" (3029-31).
 26. "Ha! Perchevax, Fortune est cauve/Detriers et devant chavelue./Et dehaïs ait qui te salue/Ne qui nul bien t'ore ne prie,/Que tu ne la recheus mie /Fortune quant tu l'encontras." Ed. William Roach (Geneva & Paris, 1959) ll. 4646-51.
 27. Ed. W. Nitze and T. A. Jenkins (Chicago, 1932-7) pp. 48-51, 80 and 110.

28. Mirror for Magistrates, XVI.10, ed. Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge, 1938), p. 205.
29. (Augsburg: Steyner, 1532). The cut was re-used in several other books subsequently published in Augsburg. For a partial list, see F. W. H. Holstein, German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts c. 1400-1700, vol. V (Amsterdam, 1954) p. 136. It is also reproduced in Chew, Fig. 53; Pickering, Pl. 8b; and elsewhere.
30. (Paris: Gourmont & Petit, 1520) fol. 195r.
31. Huntington Library MS HM 937, fol. 195r.
32. Ed. H. Bergen, E.E.T.S., e.s., 121-4 (London 1924-7) III, 676.
33. "Passibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat:" Tristia, V.viii.15. The line is also used by Gower in the Vox Clamantis, II.iv.163.
34. Ed. R. Bossuat (Paris, 1955) p. 174: "Gressus inequalis, retrogradus, hebrus, errans,/Progrediens retrograditur, multumque recedit/Procedens, pariter velox et lentus eundo" (VIII.42-4).
35. Oeuvres, ed. E. Hoepffner, S.A.T.F. (Paris, 1908-11) II, 42 (ll. 1166-8).
36. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1957), ll. 622-5. Some MSS. read "is halte." Since Chaucer and Lydgate were Spenser's two great masters (as E. K.

tells us), it is probably not a coincidence that all three poets say that Fortune goes "upright" in spite of her limp.

37. Works, ed. J. W. Hebel (Oxford 1931-41) I, 256.
38. Poems, ed. George Stevenson, S.T.S. (Edinburgh & London, 1910), p. 130.
39. They note in the following instances: II,iii.3; II.iv.33 and II.vi.1.
40. Brooks-Davies makes the same assumption: "Iconographically the two hags, Impotence and Impatience, recall Occasion, since Impotence is the inability to act even when there is occasion to do so, and Impatience is a choleric tendency to act irrationally before the occasion presents itself" (p. 177). Much more to the point are the definitions which A. C. Hamilton supplies from Cooper's Thesaurus: Impotence "that cannot bridle his lustes and affections . . . unhabile to rule himself," and Impatience "that cannot suffer or abide;" quoted in The Faerie Queene (London, 1977), p. 276.
41. Consolatio I pr.5; see also IV m.2.
42. In Theodor de Bry, Emblemata nobilitatis (Francofurti ad M., 1593) No. 1, Fortune holds symbols of prosperity in her right hand but her left leans upon a stick with a snake and an empty purse hanging from her wrist. See also the emblem of "Fortune Mendiante" in Corrozet's Hecatongraphie (Paris, 1543) sig. M viib,

where Fortune is dressed in rags and leans on a staff.

43. The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, ed. F. J. Furnivall and K. B. Lockock, E.E.T.S., e.s. 77, 83, 92 (London 1899-1904). In the original Fortune appears "Sur les paule vng baston portant/Crochu et fourchu par deuant:" Le romaunt des trois Pelerinaiges (Paris: Rembolt & Petit, 1515?) fol. lxvii.
44. B. L. MS Cotton Tiberius A VII, fol. 59v; reproduced by Patch, Pl. 6.
45. "Felix a vero bono devios blanditiis trahit, adversa plerumque ad vera bona reduces unco retrahit" (Consolatio II pr. 8).
46. Ed. A. Dick, 2nd ed. rev. J. Preaux (Stuttgart, 1978), p. 37: "rapiens his comas puellariter, caput illis virga comminuens eisdemque, quibus fuerat eblandita, ictibus crebris verticem complicatisque in condylos digitis vulnerabat" (I.88).
47. The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction (London 1599), sig. A a iii recto; for the text in Cartari see the Imagini (Venice 1647) p. 239. Fortune beats an armed man with a stick in Cousin's emblem LXXXIX, "Nobilitatem a Fortuna Vinci." The "blows" of Fortune are of course proverbial; cf. the ictus fortunae in Boethius, III pr. 1.
48. For discussion of the topos, see Patch, 84f; Hans Walther, Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Litteratur des Mittelalters (Berlin, 1926), p. 108; Rudolf Wittkower, "Chance, Time and

Virtue," Journal of The Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 1 (1937-8), 313-21; Klaus Heitman, Fortuna und Virtus. Eine Studie zu Petrarcas Lebensweisheit (Cologne, 1957); and Ida Wyss, Virtu und Fortuna bei Boiardo und Ariost, Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Band 48 (Hildesheim, 1973), 65ff. In Ch. VI of Fortuna in Dichtung und Emblematik des Barock: Tradition und Bedeutungswandel eines Motivs (Stuttgart, 1970), Gottfried Kirchner discusses a number of "Remedia gegen Fortuna," including Paupertas, Sapientia, Prudentia, and Constantia (pp. 87-97).

49. Cousin has three drawings which may be taken as a series: Pl. LXXXIX, "Nobilitatem a Fortuna Vinci," which shows Fortune pinning Virtue to the ground and beating him with a club; Pl. XCI, "Stravit Fortunam Virtus," in which Virtue throws Fortune to the ground; and Pl. XCIII, "Fortunae Patientia Victrix," in which victorious Patience stands over Fortune and her broken wheel.
50. "Chance, Time and Virtue," p. 317 and Pl. 52a.
51. Wittkower quotes part of the text (ed. Milanesi VII.686) and reproduces the painting, Pl. 53b.
52. Discussion of Boccaccio's influence will be found in Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of English Tragedy (Oxford, 1956); and A. S. G. Edwards, "The Influence of Lydgate's Fall of Princes c. 1440-1559; A Survey," Medieval Studies, 39 (1977), 424-39. According to Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate (London,

1970), p. 232, there are 83 surviving manuscripts of the De casibus, over a hundred of the French translation, and some 34 of Lydgate. Bergen describes 3 Latin editions, 8 French, 4 English, and others (Fall of Princes, IV. 106-36).

53. Chew (p. 65) notes biblical support for the change in Proverbs 6:11, "veniet . . . pauperies quasi vir armatus."
54. "Paupertas Fortune Victrix," in the many editions of Haechtanus' Microcosmos or Parvus Mundus; repr. from the first edition (Antwerp, 1579) by Henkel and Schöne, cols. 1803-4; and from the 1644 ed. by Kirchner, Abb.20.
55. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire MS fr. 190, I, fol. 83, reproduced by Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries (N.Y., 1974), Pl. 69; commentary on p. 19.
56. See Patricia Gathercole, "Illuminations on the French Boccaccio Manuscripts," Studi sul Boccaccio, 1 (1963), p. 404.
57. B. L. MS Royal 14. E. V, fol. 113v; described in Fritz Saxl and Hans Meier, Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierten Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters, III: Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken, ed. Harry Bober (London, 1953), I, p. 200. This manuscript was in the library at Richmond during the sixteenth century: see the British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, by Sir G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson (London, 1921), II, p. 141.

58. B. N. MS fr. 16995, fol. 73v; repr. by Patricia Gathercole, "Illuminations on Des cas des nobles (Boccaccio's De casibus)," Studi sul Boccaccio 2 (1964), Tav. IV. The workshop is identified by Carla Bozzolo, Les Manuscrits des traductions françaises d'oeuvres de Boccace, XVe siècle (Padua, 1973), p. 76.
59. Reproduced by A. Claudin, Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XVe et XVIe siècle (Paris, 1910-14), I, 222; also by Henri Michel, L'Imprimeur Colard Mansion et le Boccace de la bibliothèque d'Amiens (Paris, 1925), p. 41.
60. B. L. MS Add. 35321, fol. 67r, repr. by Sir E. M. Thompson, "The Rothschild Manuscript in the British Museum of Les Cas des malheureux Nobles Hommes et Femmes," The Burlington Magazine, 7 (1905), 198-210, Pl. I; and by Saxl and Meier, Abb. 110.
61. In an illuminated copy of the edition by Colard Mansion (Bruges, 1476), fol. 75r, Huntington Library 85076; also in a late fifteenth-century manuscript, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M 342-43.
62. Examples will be found in Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master (London, 1968), Pls. 395 and 396; Otto Pächt and D. Thoss, Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Französische Schule I (Vienna, 1974), Abb. 227; and Meiss, The Limbourg, Pls. 65 and 72.

63. Identified by the initials "H. R." on fol. 1. The manuscript was in the library at Whitehall in the sixteenth century (Warner and Gilson, II, p. 371).
64. See for example the illumination in a vellum copy of Verard's edition (Paris, 1494), reproduced by Pächt and Thoss, Französische Schule II, Abb. 367; and the engraving done for the edition of Colard Mansion (Bruges, 1476), fol. 74, repr. by Michel, Pl. IV.
65. Formerly Yates Thompson XCI, fol. 65v; repr. in Illustrations of One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson (London, 1907-18), VI, Pl. LVI. Its present location is unknown (Bozzolo, pp. 187-8).
66. Reproduced by Patricia Gathercole in Tension in Boccaccio (U. Miss., 1975), Pl. 6, and "Paintings on Manuscripts of Laurent de Premierfait: Manuscript Collections Found in Specific Libraries," Studi sul Boccaccio, 4 (1967), Fig. 3; also by Klaus G. Perls, Jean Fouquet (Paris, 1940), Pl. 125. For the complete manuscript see Paul Durrieu, Le Boccace de Munich (Munich, 1909).
67. See especially Claus Schaeffer, Recherches sur l'iconologie et la stylistique de l'art de Jean Fouquet (Lille, 1972), II, p. 224, and III, Pl. 81.
68. Described by Saxl and Meier, p. 12.
69. Ibid., p. 294. Date of acquisition in F. Madan and H. H. E.

Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, vol. I (Oxford 1922), p. 382.

70. Described by Saxl and Meier, p. 216. The manuscript had belonged to the wife of Anthony Wydvile, Count Rivers in the 1480's; during the sixteenth century it was in the royal library at Richmond (Warner and Gilson, II, p. 313).
71. Saxl and Meier, p. 294.
72. Edwards, pp. 425-8.
73. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W. 314, which belonged to a monk at St. Andrews in 1556 (Bozzolo, p. 173). For the others see nn. 57, 69, and 70 above.
74. (Paris, 1543) sig. L iii b. In the Rifacimento Berni provides a similar moral for Orlando's encounter with Morgana and Penitenza: "Che non è savio, paziente, e forte,/Lamentisi di se, non della sorte" (II.ix.2).
75. Nohrnberg, pp. 309-10.



Accipe, si quoties offert occasio: calva est
 A tergo: et volueris labitur illa pede:
 Post sequens torto insultat Dæmonia flagello:
 Et tantum repaui poena dolenda veni.



2. Fortune and Virtue. Engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi (1475-1534)



3. Invidia, Fortuna and Virtù. Arezzo, Casa Vasari



4. L. Haechtanus, Microcosmos / Parvus Mundus (Antwerp, 1579), No. 22



5. Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire MS fr. 190, fol. 83



Conscience et

bon et bon vin en cause

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Confirmer le
seigneur et autres dona
teurs qui sont au
saint et laborieux chier
ont de confirmer par au
trefect et a l'un des son tecteur la
sainte de seigneur d'apostol et a l'autre
de son mettre plus seigneur fardant
pour alerger le corps et autres son
prendre le dente sans 2 sous et l'ont

[illegible]



Le premier chapitre du tiers li-
ure contient le debat de purete & de
fortune/commencant ou latin/ Cō
sueuer. et cetera.

Delerins & autres vi-
ageurs qui sont aucū
longs labourieus che-
min ont de coustume
sop arrester & aucunes

foiz toucher la sueur de leurs Visai-
ges/ & a l'autrefoiz mettre sus leurs
sardeaus pour aliger le corps/ & au-
trefoiz prendre le Vent fres & souef/ &
boire ou vi ou eue pour oster la soif
& si ont de coustume de Beoir et abu-
ter cōbien ilz ont fait apres ce quilz
ont tourne le dos a aucun notable
lieu dont ilz se sōt partiz / ilz recor-
dēt eutre eus le nōbre et les noms





10. Illuminated edition of *Des cas des nobles* (Bruges: Colard Mansion, 1476), fol. 75 (Huntington Library 85076)



Le premier chapitre du tiers livre d'adieu

11. London, British Library MS Royal 20 C IV, fol. 77v



¶ Bocace commence ici son
tiers liure. dont le premier

non pas seulement arrester
aucunes fois, torchier leurs



Le premier chapitre contient le début de l'histoire et de fortune. Et commente ou laon Cosme.

Le premier chapitre contient le début de l'histoire et de fortune. Et commente ou laon Cosme. clame et autre voyageur qui font au long et le bonheur de l'homme ont de costume son arrestation et a lune des fois forcher la sueur de laur

peliers et voyageurs de leur et abiter combien de chemin ils ont fait. Apres ce qu'ils ont tene les doctes a qu'un notable lieu dont ils se sont parz ils recordent entre eux le nombre et le nom des chasteaux des rivières des valées des montaignes et des mers qu'ils ont



